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The Southern Standard

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COLUMBUS:

Wednesday Morning, February 4, 1852.

From the South-Side (Va.) Democrat.

State Rights—the Washington Union.

Doubtless the Washington Union is devoted sincerely to the interests of the democratic party—it labors with a commendable zeal to reconcile sectional hostilities, and to preserve the party from factions. Beyond question, the harmony of the democratic party is of the utmost importance, but it is not worthy the sacrifice of the cherished principles which constitute its distinct organization. In the ardent pursuit of a praiseworthy object, the Union seems willing to abandon those original and essential doctrines which alone impart value to the democratic party. To

speak the resolves of the Democracy of Virginia and the whole South, when we declare our determination to repel with scorn the encroachments of the Baltimore Convention, unless by the sacrifice of the sacred rights of the States. The organization of the Democratic party is not made out a means for securing the triumphal recognition in the administration of the Federal government of political philosophy. And if to serve interested purposes, if to secure the mere enjoyment of official patronage, the organization of the party is perverted to illegitimate ends—if so, the cries of malignant discontents, essential to success are abandoned—if the spirit of the sacred cargo with which the ship is freighted, is then the attachment and allegiance of the best champions of the party forsaken forever.

The democratic party was originated in opposition to the high federal measures of the elder Adams. The basis of its organization was the rights of the States, and consolidation was the avowed object of its ceaseless warfare. Heretofore, to a specific recognition in the balance of power between the institutions of the South from federal aggressions. We doubt not they will cheerfully acquiesce, if not for aid in the nomination of a candidate in whom the South may trust. But, if we should be disappointed in these expectations, and the Northern division of the Democratic party should force upon the convention a man upon whom the South may not rely for the protection of its rights, the Baltimore convention may be assured that the Democratic party of the South will pay no more regard to its nomination, than to the nomination of the Buffalo Barnburners.

The Southern Democracy are not altogether powerless. Their will is to determine the result of the campaign of '52. And if their support is desired, respect must be paid to their feelings and their principles. They do not claim the nomination for one of themselves. They will concur in the nomination to a Northern man, but they make it a condition indispensable to their support, that he be true to the Constitution and just to the South. Men of this stamp abound among the Democracy of the North. Such are Paullin, Buchanan and Stockton, either of whom can secure the zealous and undivided support of the Democratic party of the South.

By universal consent the resolutions of 1793-9 have been adopted as the confession of democratic faith. The illustrious men who are acknowledged as the authorized exponents of the democratic creed signalized their political career by hostility to federalism and devotion to State rights. This assertion suggests to the mind the names and services of Jefferson and Madison, and Randolph and Mason, and others of equal renown. The latest, and, we had almost said, the greatest of Democratic Presidents, James K. Polk, was earnest and ardent in his devotion to State rights, and his messages may be found the best exposition and vindication of the strict construction doctrine of the democratic party.

In these enlightened days democratic leaders are preaching a new faith. We are turning traitors, it seems, to the good old cause. The cherished doctrines of Madison and Jefferson have ceased to be articles of democratic faith. The resolutions of 1793-9 are no longer to be of binding authority. The rights and sovereignty of the States are denied and repudiated by democrats. And this immense sacrifice is to be made for the purpose of restoring harmony to the democratic party.

The Washington Union is pursuing an insane and suicidal course. The democracy of Virginia will sooner leave with the National Intelligencer in support of the protective tariff than follow the Union in its eccentric career of federalism. The attempt to expunge the State rights doctrine from the democratic creed will rend the democratic party in twain. A hopeless and irreparable schism will prostrate the party forever, if the leaders seek to divide us into paths we know not, and strive to make us bow before strange gods. Surely it must have been in some transient eclipse of the mind, some momentary hallucination, that the central organ of the democracy undertook to scoff at the authority of John Randolph, and to mutilate the sovereignty of the States. By the interposition of what strange and resistless influence has the Union been so far swerved from its apostolic orbit? The followers of Foote in Mississippi and the free-soil democracy of the North are as a common altar over the grave of State sovereignty; but the State rights democracy of Virginia—the disciples of Jefferson and Madison—will not hap at such shrine. The democratic party have sacrificed enough to party regularity. They wear devotion to the rights and sovereignty of the States, they never will! They want to know if the hierophants of the party mean to incorporate into the democratic creed the federal dogma of consolidation. They ask earnestly what flag the national leaders intend to hoist—for badge they will not under the black banner of federalism.

The Washington Union mistakes the noisy clamor of a seditious faction for the voice of the democratic party of the country. By attempting to conciliate a disaffected and impotent clique, who mask designs destructive to the party under the garb of devotion to the Union, it may alienate the true democracy. Henry S. Foote and his small squad of selfish schemers are not the leaders of the democratic party. It is a fatal error to suppose that by pandering to his purposes the harmony of the party may be promoted. If the Union is sincerely anxious to combine in the pursuit of a common object the democracy of every section of the country, it must not lend itself to any faction. Its vision must range beyond the plots of the self-styled Union democracy. It must respect the feelings and opinions of those who still cling to the State-rights doctrines of Jefferson. It must cease the vulgar taunt of disunionists, which it applies indiscriminately to every democrat who feels for the honor and rights of the South. State sovereignty and the right of secession must not be the objects of its incessant denunciation, unless it means to cut off from the party all who still maintain these articles of the democratic creed. In a word, if the central or-

gan of the democratic party wishes to conserve the unity of the democracy, it must not desert the cherished principles of the State rights, strict construction school, for the embrace of the consolidation dogmas of federalism.

Editor. The following remarks are from the Richmond (Va.) *Examiner*, the ablest paper in the old Dominion:

"In the approaching Presidential campaign, the Democratic party will inevitably be defeated, if there be not entire harmony and active co-operation between its Northern and Southern divisions. The result of the contest in '44, furnishes melancholy confirmation of the truth of this assertion. But for the defection of Buffalo Barnburners, even the military renown of Tyler could not have prevented the election of Cass. Looking back upon the campaign of '44, there is a Democrat in Virginia, that would have consented even for the sake of stings, to propitiate the prejudices of the Free-soilers, by the sacrifice of even the most unimportant of the principles upon which the welfare of the South depends. Is it according to the ambition of man to triumph; the possession of power is agreeable; but a deathless adhesion to principle in the face of defeat, reflects more honor upon human nature than the gilded trappings of the highest office in the universe."

"After the sun shall have revolved many times round its orbit," said the Emperor to me one day as we stood viewing the sea from a rock which overhung the road, "the whole European system will be changed. Revolution will succeed revolution, until every nation becomes acquainted with its individual rights. Depend upon it, the people of England will not long submit to be governed by these bands of petty sovereigns—these aristocratic cabinets. I was wrong in re-establishing the order of nobles in France; but it did give splendor to the throne, and refinement to the manners of the people, who were fast sinking into barbarism since the revolution. The remains of feudalism will vanish before the sun of knowledge. The people have only to know that all power emanates from themselves, in order to assert their rights to a share in their respective governments. This will be the case, even with the boors of Boemia—yes, Las Casas, you may live to see the time, but I shall be cold in my grave, when that colossal, ill-cemented empire will be split into as many sovereignties—perhaps republics—as there are hordes of tribes which compass it."

"After a few more reflections on the future prospects of Europe, His Majesty thus continued: "Never was a web more artfully woven over a nation than that horrible debt which envelopes the people of England. It has been the means of enriching the aristocracy beyond all former example in any country; whilst it lies, at the same time, ensnared as many fast and powerful friends to the Government, as there are individuals who receive

interest for that money so extravagantly expended to crush liberty in other countries. But even that must have an end—some accidental spark will ignite the combustible mass, and blow the whole system to atoms. If this mighty debt were due to foreigners, these cunning islanders would not bear the burthen so long; but would, on some pretext or other, break with their creditors and laugh at their evildoing—but they owe the money to individuals amongst themselves, and are therefore likely to enjoy the pleasure of paying the interest for generations to come. France, too, has a debt—these Bourbons think to maintain themselves on my throne, by borrowing largely to the present generation, in order to lay a heavy tax on the next and all future ones. But I know the French people too well to suppose that such a system can be long tolerated. I know that they have too much natural affection for their offspring to throw off their shackles, they have a right to, without the interference of any other; and the land which was first freed by the Father of his Country, may sympathize with every other nation which unites the banner of freedom."

"Prevalent throughout the North as is the fanaticism of Abolition, we still confide in the fidelity and patriotism of the great cause of the Northern Democracy. We doubt not they will consent, as heretofore, to a specific recognition in the institutions of the South from federal aggressions. We doubt not they will cheerfully acquiesce, if not for aid in the nomination of a candidate in whom the South may trust. But, if we should be disappointed in these expectations, and the Northern division of the Democratic party should force upon the convention a man upon whom the South may not rely for the protection of its rights, the Baltimore convention may be assured that the Democratic party of Virginia at least, and it is better to proclaim them now, that they may enfold the calculations of the chiefs of the party."

"No, no—my subjects are too sharp-sighted to allow the prevarications of their children to be recognized for their innocence. I am approaching three-score years and ten.—Half a century ago I crossed the mountains a boy, on foot; and, God be thanked for the institutions of this country, and the favors of my fellow-countrymen, that have given me the privilege now, of maintaining human rights in such a presence as this. [Applause.] The sun of Heaven shines on such a government as this. And should we rest blinded, our arms crossed, and say nothing?"—[Gries of No! no!] "I thank you for that response. That is my feeling. Now, my friends, I am willing to say, that is the law of nations. [Laughter and Applause.] Every independent nation under Heaven has a right to establish just such a government as it pleases. And if the oppressed of any nation wish to throw off their shackles, they have a right to, without the interference of any other; and the land which was first freed by the Father of his Country, may sympathize with every other nation which unites the banner of freedom."

"Well, sir, I am an old man.—[Laughter, and cries of 'No you ain't.']—But tell you I am approaching three-score years and ten.—Half a century ago I crossed the mountains a boy, on foot; and, God be thanked for the institutions of this country, and the favors of my fellow-countrymen, that have given me the privilege now, of maintaining human rights in such a presence as this. [Applause.] The sun of Heaven shines on such a government as this. And should we rest blinded, our arms crossed, and say nothing?"—[Gries of No! no!] "I thank you for that response. That is my feeling. Now, my friends, I am willing to say, that is the law of nations. [Laughter and Applause.] Every independent nation under Heaven has a right to establish just such a government as it pleases. And if the oppressed of any nation wish to throw off their shackles, they have a right to, without the interference of any other; and the land which was first freed by the Father of his Country, may sympathize with every other nation which unites the banner of freedom."

"I am willing, as a member of Congress, to pass a declaration to-morrow, in the name of the American people, maintaining that sentiment. [Great cheering.] And I will go home to my constituents, and if they disapprove of the act—as I know they won't—I will never go back here again. [Laughter.] I am willing to go further. I am willing to say that no nation under Heaven, whether it's chief magistrate wears a hat or a crown, has any right to interfere in the affairs of another, unless it's strength exacts it. [Applause.] There, gentlemen, you have my sentiments. I am much obliged for your kind attention."

Editor. The following is a suppressed passage in the works of Las Casas, to which reference has often been made. The present state of affairs of France renders it interesting:

"Before the sun shall have revolved many times round its orbit," said the Emperor to me one day as we stood viewing the sea from a rock which overhung the road, "the whole European system will be changed. Revolution will succeed revolution, until every nation becomes acquainted with its individual rights. Depend upon it, the people of England will not long submit to be governed by these bands of petty sovereigns—these aristocratic cabinets. I was wrong in re-establishing the order of nobles in France; but it did give splendor to the throne, and refinement to the manners of the people, who were fast sinking into barbarism since the revolution. The remains of feudalism will vanish before the sun of knowledge. The people have only to know that all power emanates from themselves, in order to assert their rights to a share in their respective governments. This will be the case, even with the boors of Boemia—yes, Las Casas, you may live to see the time, but I shall be cold in my grave, when that colossal, ill-cemented empire will be split into as many sovereignties—perhaps republics—as there are hordes of tribes which compass it."

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